

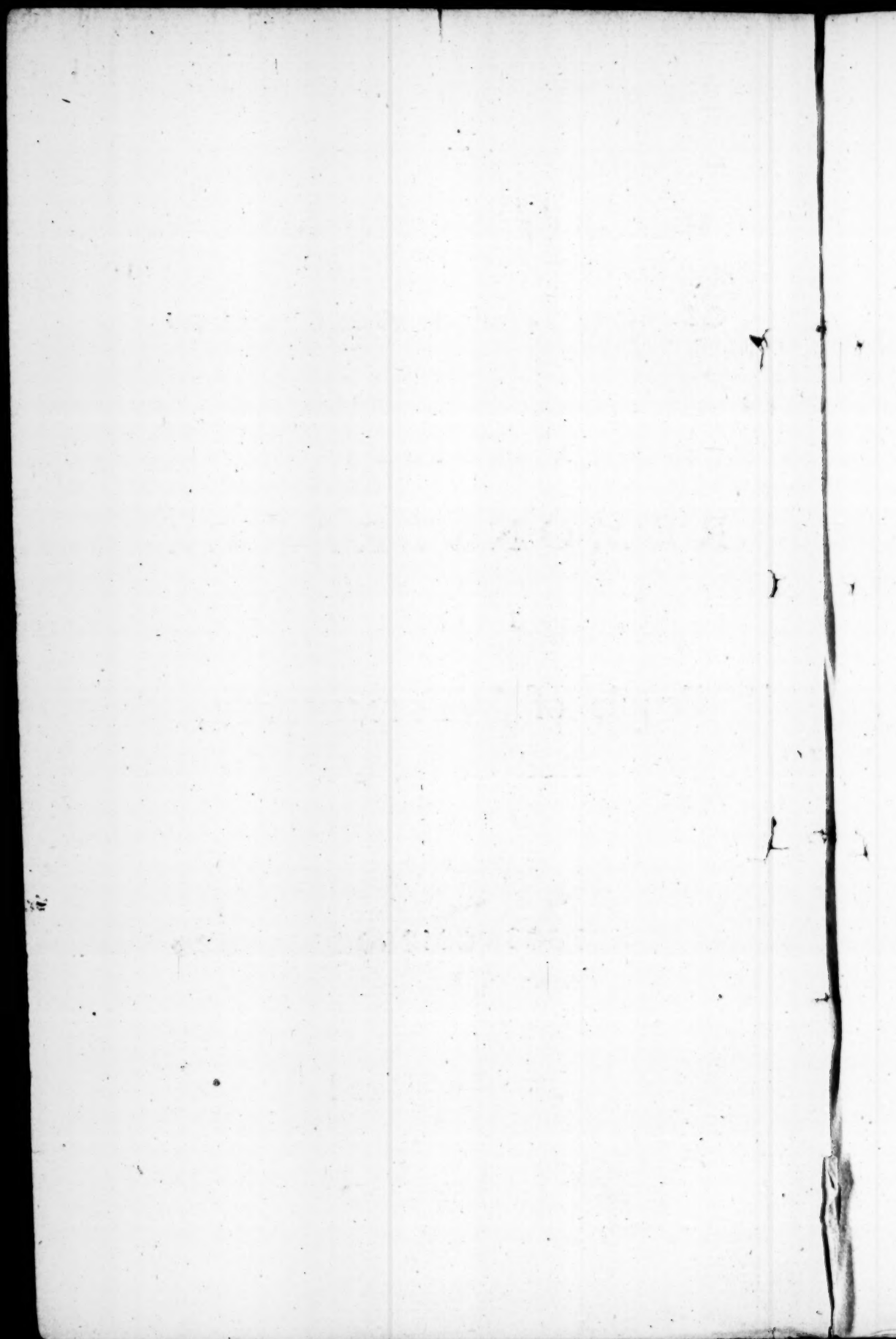
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A SERIOUS
REMONSTRANCE
TO THE
People of WESTMINSTER,
And Others, &c.



[Price One Shilling.]



A S E R I O U S
R E M O N S T R A N C E

To those of the
People of WESTMINSTER,
And Others,

Concerned in an
Infult offered to the Honourable
H___ of C___, on the 24th
Day of *February* last.



L O N D O N :

Printed for J. ROBINSON, at the *Golden Lion*,
in *Ludgate-street*. M.DCC.L.

[Price One Shilling.]

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P R E F A C E.

IT may seem an *Asseveration* not very credible, according to the *Notions* of the present *Times*, that a *Person*, who has not even the most remote *Connection* with the *Ministry*, should write in *Favour* of the *Administration*; and, from *Motives* of *Patriotism* only, should take the *Part* of the *Government* against the *Measures* of the *People*; opposing the *Multitude* of those, who think they have the *sole Right* to the *Name* of *Patriot*. But how much soever it may appear a *Paradox*, it is nevertheless a *Fact* in the *Instance* of the following *Pages*: and a *Fact* whose *Veracity* the *Author* apprehends it incumbent on him to attest, in the most valid *Manner* of which he is capable; not so much, on *Account* of the greater *Authority*, he may thence derive to what he delivers, as in *Justice* to Those, who might otherwise be supposed to prompt his *Pen*, or patronize his *Allegations*; which, he solemnly declares, on the contrary, are the *spontaneous Result* of his own *Reflection*;

promulged through no Instigation but that of his own Disposition; and to be answered for, should they meet with Disapprobation or undergo Censure, by himself only. He hopes therefore, however disagreeable or obnoxious this Remonstrance may be found, that it may incite no Resentment, nor inflame the Animosity of any, against the Ministry; no Part whereof are in the least Degree accessory or privy to its Publication; and begs, that its Composition may not be ascribed to any particular Persons, whom Fancy shall variously point out, to those forward to make Conjectures on these Occasions; as such may be assured, the real Author is out of the Reach of their Guess; but that whatever Blame is incurred may be imputed to one unknown Person alone, who, conscious of the Probity of his Intentions, will patiently sustain all the Load that can be thrown upon him; and not repine at being so far a Martyr to the publick Welfare: consoling himself perhaps, should he reap none but this bitter Fruit of his Labour, with the Presumption; that it was owing, only to the Depravity of the Soil, and the impropitious Circumstances of the Season, the Produce was not of a more kindly Nature.

A SERIOUS
REMONSTRANCE
TO

Those of the People of *Westminster*,
and others, concerned in an Insult
on the H--- of C---, on the
24th of *February* last.

GENTLEMEN,

IT is with the greatest Regret, that I reflect on the Occasion, I apprehend you have given me, and every other *British* Subject, of expostulating with you on Account of a late Transaction, whereby our Security and most interesting Concerns seem highly affected: and which, if succeeded by parallel Measures, threatens to involve us in a Scene of civil Discord and Contention produc-

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tive of the greatest Calamities, and likely to terminate, in the Ruin of our Constitution, and the Loss of our Liberties. But with whatever Reluctance, I may enter on the disagreeable Task of censuring a Multitude, and condemning that Conduct which had the Sanction of Numbers; I yet think it a Duty, myself and all others owe the Public, to contribute, by every thing in our Power, to the Discouragement and future Prevention of so unwarrantable a Proceeding: and, as many Persons, I hope even among those who were drawn in to bear a Part in this illicit Transaction, have not yet formed a right Conception of its dangerous Nature, nor are aware of that ill Tendency which will appear from a mature Reflection on it, I thought it highly expedient, that such should have the Matter laid before them in a clear and explanatory Light; that the several mischievous Consequences that may follow therefrom, should be distinctly pointed out to them; and that they should be rendered duly sensible how greatly it is repugnant both to Law and Reason.

THE Writ for electing a Member for *W—r*, to fill the Seat in the *H—* of *C—*, vacant by *L— T—m's* Acceptance of the Office of one of the *L— C—rs* of the *Ad—y*, having been ordered to be issued out in *November* last; and no Account of any Return, or of any Thing done subserviently thereto,

to, having been given to the House; a Motion was made, on the 23d of *February*; that the proper Officers, to whom the Care of the same appertained, should be called upon to set forth the Reasons why so long a Delay had been made; and that the House should take such further Measures for expediting a due Return, as should then appear necessary: and in Consequence thereof, the Clerk of the Crown, the Pursuivant at Arms, the Under-Sheriff of *Middlesex*, and the High-Bailiff of *Westminster*, were ordered to attend the next Day. They appeared accordingly, but accompanied with a Body of People, said to amount to several Thousands, occasioning that Confusion and Disturbance in the Avenues and Neighbourhood of the House, which the Clamour of so great a Concourse of People, met to advance, by such means, Designs, they doubted of being able to accomplish by fair and regular Methods, must necessarily produce. The House however, on the Examination of the High-Bailiff, did not take such Steps as excited their further Rage and Violence; and they were pleased to disperse, and go home, without having done any other Mischief, than that of violating, in a most essential Point, the Order of Government; and committing a most heinous Insult on that Part of the Legislature, whereon their own Liberties and Privileges, and those of their Fellow-Subjects, absolutely depend; and whose Authority and

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Dignity cannot be wounded, or impaired, without a necessary Hazard and Injury accruing to the Advantages and Rights of themselves and their Posterity.

IT may possibly be alledged by some, in Vindication of this Meeting; that what I intimate as the Cause of it is a groundless Surmise; and that the Constituents thereof were drawn together meerly by Curiosity and Chance; and had no such Motives or Designs as I impute to them; not even the least View to influencing the Measures of the H—— of C——ns. But this, on the least Examination into the Affair, and Consideration of the attendant Circumstances, will appear an elusive Gloss of the Matter. For is it an usual or probable Thing, that several thousand People should accidentally, on the same Day, be inspired with the like Curiosity, so ardently, that they could not wait a few Hours to be informed by common Methods of the Event of an Affair, of no greater ultimate Consequence to them than many which pass without the least particular Notice; and that, without any previous Combination, they should thus, on the short Warning of twenty four Hours, be prepared to form so considerable a Body?— Some may now chuse to give this Colour to their Behaviour in it, but the Truth of the Case is palpably otherwise: and indeed, the Persons, the most interested in the Success of
this

this Design, are so far from denying it, that they exult in the supposed Consequences thereof; and declare, that if the Body which did assemble had not had its intended Weight, and been found sufficient to work the desired Effect, there were three or four Times the Number ready to have contributed their Assistance: Nor was there wanting, even in the House, a Person of the first Rank, who expressed a high Sense of Triumph on the Occasion; and intimated, that it was evident, from several Circumstances, the original Purposes of the Motion had not been pursued, and that the Sequel had flowed through a forced Channel. Glorious Reflections to warm the Breast of a *British* N—n! To presume first, that the Order of Government had received one of the most injurious Strokes it could possibly feel, or that the H— of C— had been obliged to receive Law and submit its Authority to the Caprice of a wild Mob, and then express Joy and Pleasure at the being Spectator of this flagitious Enormity! sure nothing but the Infatuation of the most extravagant Party Rage could give Birth to such Sentiments in the Mind of a Person, whose acquired as well as natural Talents, when not counteracted by Passion and Prejudice, enable him to judge in Politics, with the greatest Advantages, of what is right and fit.

As the Fact is not therefore doubted, by the Generality of either Party; that the Intention of this Meeting was to exercise a menacing Influence on the Conduct of the H— of C—, in Respect to some favourite Points concerning the present Election, I shall take it for granted, without spending any further Time in the needless Proof thereof: and proceed to lay before you, Gentlemen, who were the Actors in this Scene of Irregularity, the Notions myself, and every other Person who gives a close and unprejudiced Attention to the Matter, must necessarily entertain of your Conduct, and the Effects to be apprehended from it. But it will be first proper to distinguish, on what Footing I address myself to you; and on what Principles and previous Positions I found my Reasons: for I am very well aware, there are some among you, with whom my Arguments, however just, can avail nothing; and who regard the very Consequences I represent an Object of Dread, as the successful Result of their Undertaking, and a right Advance to the Completion of their final Purpose; I mean the *Jacobite* Faction, whose Leaders have been openly the chief Movers and Instigators of this Business, and strive, in like Manner, on every Occasion which offers, to bring the Public Affairs into a distracted Condition; convinced by Experience, that 'tis thence alone they can have any Chance
to

to accomplish the End of their Pursuits. But I by no Means conceive the Majority of you to be of this Cast of Sentiments; as wishing the Subversion of the present Establishment, and the Introduction of the Pretender, with the Evils necessarily concomitant therewith: a Claim in his Person to arbitrary Power, inseparably connected with that of governing by a divine and independant Right of Inheritance, and a Disposition, inevitably arising from his Principles of Faith, to reinstate the *Roman Catholic Religion*, so discordant to the particular Temper of the People of *Great Britain*, and so oppugnant to the natural Freedom and Privileges of Mankind. I say, I by no means conceive, that the Majority of you had this Drift of Intention, or were in the least actuated by any such Views; but on the contrary, regard the present Settlement of Religion and Government, as the proper Basis of the Security and Welfare of the Nation: and to such of you alone, I direct this REMONSTRANCE; presuming, you will readily grant me, that whatever may facilitate, or conduce to bring about, a Revolution in Favour of a *Popish Pretender* to the Crown, is dangerous to the Nation.

IN order to judge of the Hazard and Evils accruing from popular Oppositions of this Kind to the Legislative Power, let us first consider, by what slight Circumstances of a similar

lar Nature, the Flame of civil Contention has been frequently kindled; and with what Fury and Devastation it rages, and how difficultly it is extinguished, in States like our own, where the Authority of Government, not being back'd and supported by Military Power, is consequently unprovided with Means to suppress it quickly; and let us consider likewise, how infinitely the terrible Calamities produced by civil Feuds, and the Privation of legal Authority, over-balance any of those Ills that can happen, while the Influence *even* of a *bad* Government subsists. It is easy for a Cabal of disaffected Persons of superior Rank and Talents to influence the Populace, and excite an enthusiastic Discontent that fits them to be led on to the most desperate Enterprizes; but it is nevertheless extremely difficult, even for those who raised this tumultuous Spirit, to manage it afterwards, or determine its Action to the Completion of their own Designs; and its Effects have been often found, to be equally fatal to them who first gave birth to and cherished it, as to those on whom its Violence was originally intended to operate. This was manifestly displayed in the Process of the long *British* civil War, where the Persons who had been most active in destroying the Power of the Crown, and undergone every Inconvenience and Hardship to attain that End, found at length their own Views and Interests overwhelmed in the Storm they had raised, and them-

themselves enslaved by Tyrants of their own Creation ; and were, after a long intermediate Series of Troubles and Oppression, at last glad to seize an Opportunity to recur to that very Condition, they before thought so intollerable, as to involve themselves in these Misfortunes in order to their Exemption from it. And perhaps the Party who were most zealous in promoting the Ferment that ended in the Revolution, missed their principal Aim ; and though not entirely satisfied with the Whole of the Event, as it then appeared, had afterwards Reason to believe, they might thank some favourable Accidents, the Consequence proved so well : yet there certainly never was a Time, when the Situation of the People, both in respect to what they suffered, and what they had to fear, could render it more warrantable and expedient, to endeavour at a Change, than at that Juncture. To this very Cause *Rome* owed her Ruin : and the Observation, how easily Attempts of the People, to struggle with the established Authority, are converted to the most Bloody civil Wars, by the slightest Accidents, and the factious Arts of such as are never wanting to employ them on these Occasions ; and what Detriment, instead of Advantages, the Liberties of the People ultimately receive from them ; might likewise be verified by Instances collected from almost every Period of the History of foreign States. And though it may be found, that other Nations have,

have, from Reasons of *Accident*, suffered more irreparable Injuries, on this Principle, than the *British* has hitherto done; yet there are none, who, from Reasons of *natural Dispositions*, are more exposed to the Danger of them; a Ferocity of Temper, and Mutability of Inclinations, combining to make them extremely prone to civil Commotions. Whence it is more peculiarly necessary here, that every Occasion which gives Rise to intestine Feuds should be most carefully avoided; and such Means alone of Redress of Grievances, when any are really felt, sought for and practised, as are agreeable to the legal Constitution, and the Preservation of public Authority; unless where a desperate Condition of Affairs may make desperate Remedies more advisable.

THE Danger and Hazard of irritating the Minds of the People to a Resistance against the legal Establishment; and leading them into such Acts of Opposition thereto, as break in upon the Order of Government and the public Peace, being thus premised; it will appear evident on due Consideration; that such an Insult on the Authority of Parliament as we are now treating of, and is imputed to you, with whatever Circumstances it might be accompanied, has a direct Tendency to produce the most mischievous Consequences; which *you* would share in common with the Public, besides the Peril impending on yourselves

selves in *particular* during the Transaction, from the being all of you liable to incur the highest Guilt in the Eye of the Law, if the Rashness of a Few only had urged them to some more overt Breach of the Peace; or from the immediate personal Hazard, if the Non-conformity, of what the H— of C— thought fit to do, to what you desired, had incited you to such Outrages, as would have rendered Methods of Force necessary to the Government, to compose the Disorder.

LET us suppose, that in the Case of any occurrent Passage there were Grounds to believe, the H— of C— meditated some Measures disagreeable to a considerable Number of Persons, and that the Set of People disliking these Measures should assemble, in the most formidable Body wherein they could appear, without proceeding to any such Instances of Violence as would subject them to the common Penalties of the Law. Let us further suppose, the H— apprehensive of ill Treatment, and giving Way to the Menace, are deterred from taking the proposed Steps; and shew they acted with Constraint through the Influence of the Mob which surrounds them. Let us, to give the Argument its full Scope, even imagine, that the Decision of the Affair thus enforced by the People might in *itself* be *reasonable* and *fit*. Would their Conduct be nevertheless thence justified, because the Determination

tion of this *particular Matter*, considered abstractedly, might be as it ought? No certainly: because *general* bad Consequences of much greater Moment would be derived from such an Event. For should the H—— of C—— concede to Requisitions made to them in this Manner; it would be acknowledging an Authority superior to their own to lie in Mobs: and as they may be easily formed or raised by *every* Party and Faction; each would of Course be encouraged by this Example, to exercise the Power they thus discovered themselves to be provided with; and whenever any Matter came before the H——, in which a Number of Persons (with or without Reason) thought themselves to be any Ways interested, they would be induced to make sure of carrying their Point, by putting in Practice this Method. And what must then be the Consequence? The House must either continue, whenever thus pressed, to make unreasonable Concessions, and suffer every Measure to be dictated by Mobs and tumultuous Assemblies, or call in the Aid of the Crown to suppress them by a Military Force; which, considering the Spirit of the *English*, might instantly spread the Flame of civil Discord to a most destructive Extent. For however different the final Views of the several discontented Factions might be, they would be apt to act in Defence of each other, on a Principle of being engaged in a common Opposition against

a stronger Power; which Circumstance has been frequently found to give a momentary Union to those, whose several Interests were ultimately the most incompatible with each other.

BUT we are not to suppose, when one Party begins to exert such active Measures in Prosecution of its Designs, that the Multitude of those engaged in a contrary Interest would be entirely passive, and not rather catch the Fire of Contention, and oppose the Prevalence of these violent Proceedings against their Pretensions, by Methods equally violent; especially when they have the Appearance of being justified, by the Plea of acting in Support of the legal Constitution: and if in this Case, the whole Stress and Dependance of the Hopes of those, who first commenced this hostile Method of promoting their Cause, were not placed in Expectations, they could bully and intimidate, to a Compliance with their Demands, such as were not prepared to resist them, an actual Contest must of Course ensue; which, in the Heart of a City so populous, and unfurnished either with Militia or regular Troops to quell the Tumult instantly, must, most probably, have terrible Effects; and exhibit a Scene of Calamity unknown to our Forefathers, even during the manifold Troubles of the long civil War.

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IN short, with whatever Circumstances we suppose such an Attempt of the Populace to controll the Legislature attended, we shall still find, on due Attention, it presents a Complication of imminent Danger and Mischief; and that it can answer, ultimately, the Ends of none, but those alone, who aim at embroiling the Public Affairs, so as to cause a total Subversion of the present Government, and thereby make Room for that they would substitute in its stead.

THERE may, possibly, be many among you, on whom my Representations of the dangerous Effects of such a Conduct may fail to make Impression, from a Persuasion they may have, of the Superiority of the Number of those, who concur with them in their Sentiments, to that of those, who differing from them, would be liable to obstruct their Designs. But besides that Reason, against being concerned in like Practices, founded on the ill Example such a Precedent gives to all future discontented Factions, to disturb in the same Manner the public Quiet, on every Occasion where it may suit their Purposes, which still avails, allowing the general Sense of the People to be with them as much as they can imagine; I would yet admonish them to be extremely circumspect, and carefully to check their Credulity, in this Point: a Point wherein all Factions

tions are apt to flatter themselves excessively; and which has been the fatal Delusion, that has generally betrayed to their Ruin those attempting to resist established Authority. But this mistaken Confidence is easily accounted for, if we consider; that the Constituents of such Bodies are generally Persons of a sanguine Cast, in whom the imaginative Powers overbalance the Judgment, and who have therefore a Propensity to view, what makes for their Wishes, in the most favourable Light; and, that the greater Part of them expressing their Discontent, and bestirring themselves some way or other in the Advancement of their Cause, become thence distinguishable and conspicuous to each other; whilst they who acquiesce in the settled State of Affairs, make much less Appearance, from the passive Behaviour which naturally results from that Disposition of their Sentiments. And if to this Hazard of Self-Deception, we add the great Uncertainty, how many of those, who may wish well to any Cause, and seem highly *alert* in the *Support* of it during Times of *Security*, will really *join* in *Action* when it becomes Matter of *Peril*; together with the Unsteadiness and Caprice to which the Multitude are always subject, it will amount to a sufficient Weight of Argument, to convince every Man not infatuated to the last Degree; that the Event is very precarious in all such Cases, even where it is most insured by the promised Concurrence

of Numbers; and determine him, against ever joining with Mobs in Insults on regulated Power, with whomsoever he may be accompanied: And I hope the lucky Impunity, that attended your late rash Behaviour, will not render this most wholesome Lesson ineffectual.

I SHOULD beg Pardon for so frequently calling you (while engaged in this Transaction) a Mob; but that I know of no other *English* Word properly expressive of this kind of Assemblies of the People. And, notwithstanding I am well apprized, some may esteem it invidious and abusive, as many of the Constituents were Persons of Property and middling Condition; yet, while acting as a Part of this Body, I still insist on it, they come within the strict Import and Meaning of the Expression: for though in general we suppose only the lowest Class of People to be thereby intended, it is, because from them alone such a tumultuous Concourse is commonly formed: but the promiscuous and irregular Manner of Meeting of the Particulars, not the Rank, is what the Term abstractedly implies; as may be proved by many Instances of the Use of the Word. There is besides, in favour of this Liberty I have taken, a general Resemblance in the two Kinds of Persons who may compose such an Assembly: for though one may be in a State of Poverty and low Life, from which the other is exempt; yet those of them, who
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are under no Indigence of Fortune, are under an egregious Indigence of Sense and Manners in acting thus: and, by thus mixing with the lowest Class, and assuming their Part and Character, reduce their own Rank to a Level with the others; and render themselves justly liable to be comprehended under the same Appellation. And indeed, their Pretension to Property and Condition, however well founded, is so far from exempting any, on this Occasion, from the Opprobrium the Word carries, that such rather merit it in an aggravated Degree; as those are to be pitied, whose low Fate and Situation have deprived them of the Means of better Information and Judgment; while they alone justly incur Contempt, who, mocking the Kindness of Fortune, act inadequately to their Station, and what may reasonably be expected from them.

BUT let us now examine, a little, into the Occasion of your taking this precipitate Step; and seek the Source of that Spirit of Turbulence which impelled you to it: and I am afraid, we shall in the Result discover, *the Folly of your Motives to be not less than the Madness of your Conduct.* The Intent of this Measure (I mean, as to that Part of you to whom I am writing, for the *Jacobites* had undoubtedly a more momentous, though more remote Design, in their Share of the Business) was to produce something favourable to the

Pretensions of Sir G—V—in the present Election of a Member for your City. A Matter which, considered in itself, must be very indifferent to you ; as that Gentleman, though I hope of a worthy Character, was nevertheless a Stranger and absolutely unknown to the greatest Part of you ; and not having acted hitherto in any Public Capacity, can have given you no Reasons to place a particular Confidence in his Abilities or Probity ; nor yet can add Weight to your Interest, from any superior Advantages of Fortune or Alliance. It must be owing, therefore, to Circumstances of another Nature, and prior Date, that you were incited to push this Election with such uncommon Efforts : whence, regarding that only as a Consequence, we must look further for the original Cause of this extraordinary Behaviour. We shall, on the Research, find this to be an unreasonable Disgust and groundless Zeal of Opposition to the present Administration ; to whom nevertheless you owe a more happy State of the public Affairs, than, considering our late Situation, in many Respects, we could even have hoped for. A Disgust taken at such a Season, and on such Occasions, that nothing can explain the Possibility of its being, but that Spirit of Controul and Impatience of all Restraint, which spring from the Possession of large Property, the Enjoyment of extensive Privileges, and false Ideas of Liberty : the two first of which have been apt to breed the

the last, in the Minds of all the People on whom Fate has bestowed them ; and puffed them up with a political Pride, that renders them liable to be drawn on, by the flattering Arts of the more Designing, to a Risk, and frequently Loss, of the real Advantages they possess : while, in the romantic Pursuit of a non-existent Good, they are only acting as Tools to the sinister Views of their Leaders. Let me beg of you, Gentlemen, that, divesting yourselves of your Prejudices, and suspending a while the Heat of your Zeal, you will consider, whether this is not really *your* Case ; for on an impartial Survey of the Grounds and Manner of your Conduct, you will undoubtedly find it so. Had you, as Individuals, smarted with Injuries, or been wounded by Injustice, in your private Concerns ; or, as a Body, laboured under the Terror of the impending Ruin of the Public ; had you been groaning under Oppression, or struggling with Distress ; you might then, with some Countenance of Reason, have had recourse to Methods so irregular and unconstitutional : But on the contrary, you are secure in Peace, and happy in Affluence ; enjoying every Privilege the Law decrees you, and reaping every Benefit, both at present and in Prospect, which the best proposed Regulations and Schemes of Improvement of your Affairs can afford or promise. What do you then complain of ; or what Offence has excited in you this Discon-

tent and Petulance? Why all, that has been alledged, or pretended on this Occasion, rests on two or three Facts, that were either very insignificant, or if they claimed your Regard, it was in a Degree and Manner, to which your subsequent Proceedings have been very inadequate and irrelative: for they were either, such, as, being the Acts of particular Persons, none other could be responsible for, or such, as appeared offensive to you, from inadvertent and mistaken Notions of your own Rights, and their Relation to those of others. But let us make a closer Inspection into the Particulars.

THE first Instance of your Dissatisfaction was shewn on the Account of *Penlez*: a Man who was found guilty of being Party in a Riot, attended with such enormous Circumstances, that, had not the Legislature interposed, and employed every Method requisite to put a Stop to its further Progress, you might, with the greatest Reason, have complained of their Neglect of exercising the executive Power on so emergent an Occasion; and have in some Measure been justified in your Neglect, of Reverence to and Acquiescence in legal Authority, since displayed. But after his Conviction, an unaccountable Fit of Compassion seized a Part of you, and a Set of People, who took upon themselves to represent the Parish of *S. Cl——ts*, thought fit to carry a Petition, interceding for his Pardon, to their Members,

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to be by them presented to His M——; and, on their refusing to be concerned in so improper an Application, went up with it themselves; and met with that ill Success the Nature and Exigence of the Affair necessarily produced. This, from some very erroneous Conception and false View of the Matter, was thought a Hardship, or at least a Slight, to the People; and, by the industrious Practices of the malevolent Factions, it was presently made a popular Topic, to lament the unhappy Fate of this Criminal; arraign the Equity of his Execution; and consequently reflect a Blame on the Administration. But whoever considers the Whole of this Occurrence impartially, must be surprized, that such Inferences were ever made from the Premises, as could possibly give Rise to these Notions; for as to what regards the Refusal to grant the Request of the Petition, it must be palpably evident, on the least Consideration, that no Hardship or Affront could any Way accrue from thence. The Faculty of pardoning Offenders, convicted on Crown Prosecutions, is vested solely in the King's Will, as supposed to be directed by his Judgment, assisted by the Advice of his Privy Council; and none can have a Right to desire, much less to require, any Exertion of this Prerogative in Favour of a Convict, on any other Plea, than by exhibiting some Discovery of Matter extenuative of his Guilt; and this with a total Submission to the King's
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Prudence, whose Determinations may be sometimes influenced, by an Information of relative Facts unknown even to those applying for Mercy : as was really the Case here ; Affidavits having been laid before His Majesty, testifying a most atrocious Complication of a Felony of another Species with that for which he was condemned, whereof the greatest Part of those, who interposed in his Favour, were then ignorant ; while, on the contrary, nothing *exculpatory* or *mitigative* was suggested by this Petition, but *that it was the Will and Pleasure of the Subscribers, he should not be executed*. There was indeed another Petition, preferred by the Jury who found the Verdict, that had the Face of Pertinence and Reason, representing, to His Majesty, their Doubt of the Validity of the Testimony of *Wood* and his Family, (who were the principal Witnesses produced on the Trial) on Account of their infamous Way of Life ; but this, though properly offered by the Jury, necessarily lost its Weight with His Majesty ; because, he had before him a Multiplicity of other, and incontestable, Evidence, (which it had not been thought necessary to exhibit before the Court of Justice, at the Trial of *Penlez*) not only of his being guilty of this Riot, but of a notorious Robbery ; and had therefore not the least Inducement, from that Representation, to deprive the Public of so necessary an Example. It could therefore be no Slight, and much less a Grievance, to

to the People in general, or the S. *Cl——nts* Petitioners, that what, they could not without Impropriety ask, should, for the most important Reasons, be denied them: but this will appear yet more manifestly, when we recollect some of the Passages of this Transaction, for the Truth of which I can vouch, being myself a Spectator of them. Besides the Riot, as far as regarded the demolishing and plundering several Houses two successive Nights, with the greatest Annoyance and Danger to the Neighbourhood, a most flagrant Insult was offered on the second Night to the civil Power; first, by stoning away the Centinels, who were placed there to prevent a Renewal of the Mischief, to which a Stop had been put the Night before by the Assistance of a Party of the Guards; and afterwards, by assaulting the Constable and Watchmen with the most violent Outrage, breaking open a public Prison, (for such undoubtedly every Roundhouse must be deemed) and rescuing, out of the Hands of the Peace Officers, those who had been charged in Custody for this Offence. A Contempt and Violation of legal Authority, which, if connived at, must soon have ended in a total Destruction of it: for indeed the Alarm, which every Quarter of the Town suffered the next Day, from the like Risings of Mobs, evinced how extremely necessary it was become; that some effectual Means should be taken, as well for preventing
such

such Disorders for the Future, as suppressing the present. The Terror of an Example was therefore absolutely necessary ; and as it was an indispensable Duty on the Legislature ; that they should demonstrate the Prevalence of the Laws provided against Offences of this Nature, by the actual Execution of them, at least in the Instance of one of the Offenders, so Justice demanded of them, that this should be he, of those apprehended, whose Guilt should appear to have the greatest Aggravation of Circumstances ; and this was certainly *Penlez*, who to his Share in the Riot had joined the Crime of a most egregious Theft. Under these Circumstances, how imprudent must it have been for His Majesty, to have interposed his dispensing Power, and restrained the Operation of the Law, where it was so eminently conducive to the public Safety ; and in a Case, where the Criminal had doubly incurred the Punishment he was about to undergo ; and was therefore less entitled to sue for Mercy than the Generality of those, who so frequently suffer on Account of only one of the Crimes he had committed : and how unreasonable therefore must be any pressing Instances for a Remission of his Sentence ; and how much more unreasonable, a Resentment that such Instances should not then avail. We see, therefore, how little just Foundation there was for the Disgust occasioned by this Passage ; or rather, we can collect no Reason at all, nor assign

assign any Cause for it, without recurring to that political Pride we before touched upon, which had been so pampered with Affluence and Liberty, as not to brook the Mortification of any Contradiction, but to prompt those possessed by it, with the strange Imaginations, that dictating to the Government was one of their Privileges; that not to controll, was not to be free; and that the People were ill used, whenever, what, any part of them had intimated to be their Pleasure, was not implicitly complied with, however detrimental and hazardous to the Public. But is not this Disposition as absurd, as it is dangerous; and such as it behoves each Individual, to whom it is incident, to check most assiduously in himself, before the Infatuation overpowers his Reason, and hurries him on to disturb the public Tranquility; and before the growing Spirit has diffused itself so generally, and gained so much Force, as may involve us in those calamitous Scenes of Contention and civil Discord, which from the same Cause have proved so fatal to other States?

BUT let us proceed to the next Occasion of Complaint, those who were disposed to murmur found; which was the Opening a *French Theatre* in the *Hay-Market*, that happened before the Discontent at *Penlez's Execution* had well subsided; and raised a Clamour, surpassing not only what that had raised,

ed, but equalling even what might have been expected, from a Violation of the most valuable Rights of the People, or the most flagrant Injury to their tenderest Concerns. I am sensible, how unpopular it would be, to attempt to shew, that the Establishment of a *French* Company of Comedians was a Matter of an indifferent Nature, and what no private Persons could properly take upon them to obstruct or discourage, otherwise than by absenting themselves from the Performances, and not contributing to the Support of it, or by perswading others to do the same: And I am not less convinced, whoever should undertake this Task, would have to combat with unconquerable Prejudices: But without insisting therefore, on its being absolutely a Matter of no Consequence, I will offer to your Reflection some Particulars, to shew, how disproportionately, the Outcry against it was, to the real Occasion; and remind you, moreover, of what seems to have been very neglectfully mistaken; *that the Ministry were in no Degree concerned either in inviting over or supporting this Company; but, on the contrary, put a Stop to their Performance, when the Dislike of the People to it appeared so excessive, in meer Conformity to their Humour.* I would beg Leave to ask, first, what might be the Loss, on Balance, to the *British* Nation, had this Company play'd with the greatest possible Success, after the Expences of Performing had been defrayed, and that of
their

their Maintenance deducted? Certainly so little, that it could never be on that Account, the People expressed so great a Degree of Uneasiness; or conceived such Rage against those, whom, they only suspected, to have encouraged them. Let me ask likewise, why the Band of *Italian* Rope-Dancers, with a real or pretended *Turk* at their Head, who, without exciting the least Murmur, occupied at that very Time the same House, and performed, with greatly less Expence, at the same Prices, should not be equally exceptionable? Or why, the Public can suffer more from one Company of foreign Comedians, permitted for one single Season, than from several Bands of foreign Tumblers, Rope-Dancers, &c. retained, from Year to Year, at *Sadler's Wells*, *Goodman's Fields*, and other Places? I can, for my own Part, perceive no Difference in the Case as it respects the public Interest: nor can I discover, why Persons, whose Station and Education give them a different Taste for Amusements, have not an equal Right, to entertain and support a Company of Foreigners who can contribute to their Pleasures, with the other Part of the People. I would next ask those, who urge the Limitation of the Number of Theatres, by a late Act of Parliament, as an Objection to tolerating the *French* Company; whether the Permission of them came within the Comprehension of the Reasons for that Restriction? and if not, why the L—C— might

might not therefore, according to the Power given by that Act, favour the Subscribers with a Licence for them? especially, as many of the Subscribers were Strangers, who, not understanding *English*, were excluded from partaking of our Theatrical Diversions. And lastly, I would ask those, who opposed them merely on the Score of their being Foreigners; whether it is consistent with the Genius and right Policy of a commercial Country, a Country which had lately some Pretensions to Politeness, to regulate its Conduct on the narrow Maxims of Barbarians; disclaim all Intercourse with Strangers, that is not immediately lucrative; and extend the Principle of Selfishness to a Degree beyond the rude *Muscovite*, or the sordid *Dutch*; for with them, and indeed in almost all the Capitals of *Europe*, *French* Theatres are established, and prohibited in none? But however maintainable by Reason or Example, this Point was nevertheless given up to the Notions of the People; and was then so far from being, on any Supposition, longer an Object of their Dissatisfaction with the Government, that it became one of the greatest Obligations and Gratitude, for that condescending Prudence, which, in a Matter of Indifference, had shewn such a Compliance to the popular Inclination, as to sacrifice thereto the Desires of, and retract an Indulgence already granted to, a very considerable Body of Persons of the first Rank.

THE last Occasion of Offence, which proved the greatest, almost converting your Discontent into Outrage, was an Application said to be made by some of the D—— of B——d's Servants, to one of the Electors, for his Vote in Favour of L—— T——m, in the Election now depending for a Member for your City, and succeeded, on his Non-compliance, by a Letter of Warning to quit the House he held of the D——. But in Order to judge, how far this afforded just Matter to those loud Complaints and keen Resentments which it produced, let us examine it, first as to its own Nature and Circumstances, and afterwards with Relation to the Ministry. It is, in the first Place, not absolutely clear, this Affair was at all of the Nature represented; or more than a Warning given in the common Course of Business, on an Account that had not the least Concern with the Election; and there are even Affidavits which depose this: but it is much less certain, that any Part of it was transacted by the D——'s Order; we have the Attestation of his Servants to the contrary, and even his own Assurance, to induce us to believe it was not: nor have we the least Reason to call his Veracity in Question: Lying is the Vice of Cowards, and his G——'s Character is well known to be free from that Imputation; having on more than

one Occasion given demonstrable Proofs of his Courage : and besides, in determining of the Probability of this Fact, we must allow largely for the Officiousness of Servants, who, being not very nice and delicate in their Judgment and Choice of Means as far as regards Honour, are apt in these Cases to overstrain the Point, shoot beyond the Mark, and take Methods to arrive at the proposed End, very different from those which are dictated to them. Suppose it however otherwise, is it, at this Time, so heinous an Offence to the Public ; that a N——n, who had desired the Vote of his *Tenant* for his *Brother in Law*, should be disobliged at a Denial, and gratify some other Person, who might then happen to apply, by the Removal of one who had so little Complaisance for his Request ? Is this Warmth in the Interest of a near Relation so criminal ; especially, in the D—— of B——d, who has ever been a zealous Supporter of the *Protestant* Succession, against that of a Gentleman, who, though no Way obnoxious in his own Character, was nevertheless, in part, recommended originally as a Candidate by the avowed Enemies of the Establishment, and since served by them with as much Affiduity as if the Success of *their* Cause wholly depended on that of *his* ? I say, is the doing what every Man has a legal and just Right to do, and what no Man has a Right to require him to give a Reason for, so very enor-

enormous, at a Time when it is well known to every Body, that Methods of Influence similar to this, (supposing the Transaction to be of that Kind) and some even much more exceptionable, were used by the other Party; when it is well known, that the whole of what is called Parliamentary Interest consists in this Influence of the Landlord over the Tenant, and that it has been universally used ever since the canvassing for Elections came first in Practice, and will unavoidably continue so while Mankind are the same? I would not be thought however to justify this Practice considered in itself; but on the contrary wish it were totally exploded, and that an absolute Freedom of Judgment and Choice were left to all Electors, especially those who are Inhabitants of Cities and large Boroughs, and may therefore be enabled to distinguish in some degree the Qualifications of Candidates. But I think, considering the Universality of the Custom, one single Instance could not justly give so terrible an Alarm, of Danger to the Liberties and Privileges of the People, as we saw in this Case; when the pretended Patriots were employing, at the very Time, the same Means in their Defence. It were well all parallel Methods should be disused; but we might reasonably expect, that they, who are continually haranguing on, and exclaiming at, the Prevalence of Corruption and undue Influence,

would begin the Example: for while all Means are employed to embarrass and distress the Government, perhaps, in a great Degree, thro' the Instigation of those who seek its Ruin, it will be less culpable in those who labour for its Support, and are conscious of the Rightness of their final Intention, to retain such Methods as defensive Necessity suggests, though otherwise not eligible.

BUT grant we even, that this Affair was as represented, and merited a public Notice of Disapprobation, it was yet the sole Act of the D— of B—d, and what none others could be blamed for, and is, therefore, this a reasonable or valid Motive, for declaring War on the whole Administration; displaying Suspicions of the equitable Conduct of the H— of C—; or having Recourse to Methods scarcely advisable even in the most desperate Cases?

FROM this Examination of the whole Sequel of Facts, that were made the Topics of your so great Resentment and Discontent, we are enabled to form a true Idea of that Passion and Spirit which has actuated you in your late irrational Proceeding: and we see, that so far from having any real Cause of Dissatisfaction, or just Ground of Complaint, you have not been able to produce or collect, with the utmost Industry of hostile Zeal, the Allegation
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of such as are even plausible or specious, when considered with the least Attention. For when we have searched all the very numerous Advertisements, as well those privately handed about, as those published in the News-Papers, where all that Rage could inspire, or Malice dictate, with the least Semblance of Truth, seems to have been displayed: we there hear of no Innovations, in your religious or civil Oeconomy, alledged to be attempted, no Persecutions practised, nor false Informations countenanced; no alarming Plots feigned to remove or destroy obnoxious Patriots, nor State Inquisition erected, to awe the Friends of Liberty; no Resumption of Charters, nor Retrenchment of the Privileges or Rights they convey; no Suspension of the due Process, Obstruction or Perversion of the executive Operation, nor wresting the constructive Sense, of the Laws, to serve or accomplish sinister and tyrannical Purposes; no arbitrary Acts of Royalty enforced by military Power, nor Infringement on the Immunities of the People by the undue Stretch of Prerogative: but all the principal Stress of your loud Accusations, as far as they pretend to the Support of Facts, is rested on the three trivial Passages we have been considering. It is perhaps very extraordinary, there should ever be a Time, wherein, from accidental Occasions, you should be so much at a Loss for somewhat to blame and deplore as at

this Juncture ; but being happily in a great Want of Injuries and Sufferings, from this Defect of more substantial Reasons, you are angry with the Administration, first for what you ought to have highly approved of ; enraged against them, in the next Place, for what neither concerned them nor you, till they made it a Matter of Gratitude in you by conceding to your Humour ; and furious with them, at last, for what was of little Consequence to any Body, and they were no ways responsible : and urged by these extraordinary Motives, you are not content with practising, in the most ardent Manner, the common Methods of Opposition, but presume even to invade the sacred Rights of that Order of the Government where the sole Guardianship of your Interest resides ; trample on the Legislative Authority ; and set the first Step to Anarchy, or a domestic War.

THIS is a just Account, in few Words, of your Conduct and Motives, as they appear on the Investigation of the particular Facts, illustrated by those Inferences that naturally result from them ; I could enlarge on several of the Topics, and produce many other corroborative Arguments in Support of its Veracity, but that it would neither be consistent with the Compass of this Address, nor the Exigence of the Occasion : there being already
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sufficient Matter when properly animadverted on, to convince any, whose Judgment is not reduced by Prejudice to a State of Reprobation, of what I undertook to prove, ' that ' the Step, which makes the Subject of this ' Remonstrance, was rash and dangerous, and ' that your Motives were as incompatible with ' Reason, as your Measures with Prudence.' I hope therefore, when you have duly weighed these Premises, and viewed attentively this true Picture of your political Conduct, you will become sensible, that I and every other Person, who are interested in the Consequences of your Behaviour, have just Reason to expostulate with you ; and that this Remonstrance does not want an adequate Foundation. I hope also, that you will excuse the Liberty I have taken in this free Representation of you, and placing you in a Point of View not very advantageous to you : and believe my Design therein was to admonish, not mortify ; — to reclaim, not disparage ; — to reform, not satirize you : or if my Reproof seem bitter, or my Expression acrid, that you will not ascribe it to Malevolence, or an Inclination to giving Disgust and Pain, but conceive it to result from my Earnestness to cure the subject Evil, from the necessary Qualities of the Remedies, and from the duly probing the diseased Part : that you will entertain no Sense of Enmity against me on this Account ;

but consider me as one, who, from being a Fellow-Subject, Fellow-Citizen, and related to you by every social Tie, ardently wishes your Happiness, and regards your Honour and Interest as closely connected with his own; as one who is not less forward to atone by any Concessions, for whatever may be thought disrespectful and injurious in the Execution of it, than he was to enter into this Undertaking, when apprehended to be conducive to the public Good, of which you hold a Part;—as one who loves you as Neighbours, who esteems you as honest Men, and even, though disapproving your late Conduct, applauds, and concurs with you in the Principles on which you act.—Notwithstanding the Manner wherein I have been obliged, in Pursuance of the End of this Discourse, to speak of you in the foregoing Part, I assure you, I could with much more Satisfaction expatiate on your Character in this View; and, with more Pleasure, declare, that I hold your Resolution as brave; your Aversion to Corruption as laudable; and your Fondness for Independancy as noble; (but let not that Name betray you to mix, and act in Concert, with a Set of People who have impudently and falsely assumed it, making it a popular Cloak to seditious and treasonable Combinations:)—that I think your Jealousy of your Privileges justifiable, and your preferring them to all private Considerations high-

highly meritorious.—But here let me rest a little:—for in Order to reap the Fruits of political Virtue, it is not alone necessary to mean well: a cool and impartial Judgment is equally requisite thereto with a just and disinterested Intention; nor is an unbridled headstrong Zeal, in pursuit of mistaken Right, less mischievous than corrupt Inclinations: nay, the Ruin of a State may, as is manifest from historical Testimony, by causeless or improper Attempts to Reformation, be brought on more fatally and quicker, than by the worst Depravity or Vices of its Constituents. But not to be led back again into the Track of Argument we have already passed over, I will close the Whole with a few Words of Exhortation.

LET not a contentious Earnestness in Trifles, or the impatient Jealousy of being controlled in Matters of Indifference, or perhaps where it is right you should, dispose you to a Blindness for the many Blessings and Advantages you enjoy; and fit you to receive Impressions from the delusive Practices of the Disaffected, to listen to the senseless Harangues of —, or credit the insnaring Pretensions of his Crew, who falsely call themselves the I——nt E——rs of W——; to be misled by the sophistical Arguments forged by the venal Pen of the R——r; or imposed on by the infamous
Libels,

Libels of the *W——r J——l*; and to be the Dupes of the *Jacobities*, who, though diametrically opposite to you in their real Designs, propagate and cherish your Notions industriously, concur with you in your Measures, and even get the Lead of your Affairs; certainly not to vindicate the Rights or maintain the Liberties of the People, which rest on a Principle repugnant to the first Article in their Creed, but to promote such a Division in the Foundation of the present Establishment, the ‘Unanimity of the People,’ as shall enable them to overturn it. But divesting yourselves of these infatuating Passions, and rejecting those imposing Teachers and the absurd Notions they would inculcate, judge for yourselves, consult your own Reason, confide in your own Senses, and, to form juster Opinions of the comparative Happiness of your Condition, extend your Examination to the State of other Nations. See *France*, in the present Exultation of her dear bought Conquests, besides the Burden of Slavery, loaden heavily with Taxes and public Debts, the only real Inconvenience you have to complain of, but far less able to support them than you are. See *Spain* and *Portugal*, though the original Proprietors of almost all the Riches now brought to this Part of the World, suffering, equally with or perhaps more than *France*, in the same Instances, with the Addition of eccle-

ecclesiastical Tyranny and the Scourge of the Inquisition. See the dispersed Dominions of the *Austrian* Sceptre, every where exhausted, plundered, depopulated; and yet trembling at the Prospect of a new impending War. See the Nations of the *North* in a State of Barbarism and Poverty. But you will perhaps say, these Countries are under the Yoke of arbitrary Power, and therefore not intitled to those Benefits we may reasonably expect, as being free: Let us therefore cast a Glance on the Republics of *Europe*. See *Holland*, by far the most rich and powerful, embarrassed almost to Despair in her Finances, suffering in Earnest those Evils from Taxation we but imagine and talk of, distracted with popular Tumults, rent with Divisions in her Government, and struggling, at the same Time, with the natural Inconveniencies and Evils to which her Situation subjects her. See *Switzerland*, debarred, by her Site, of the Benefit of Ports, Navigation, and extensive Commerce, labouring hardly for the Subsistence of her numerous Inhabitants; a considerable Part following War as a Trade, and selling their Blood for a meer Maintenance to those who will hire them, in the Defence or Prosecution of any Cause. See *Venice* deprived of her antient Trade and Riches, and reduced to seek an infamous Gain from the Resort of Strangers, allured thither by her indulging their Vices, and becoming the Scene
of

44 *A serious* REMONSTRANCE

of every licentious Pleasure. See *Genoa* ruined almost to Desperation, her Bank, the Support of her Credit, destroyed beyond a present Hope of Reparation, and her principal Territory torn from her by the hitherto unreduced Revolt of *Corfica*. Each of these presents you with some Disadvantages or Calamities from which you are wholly exempt; while they can in no Degree boast of many of the Benefits you possess: nor can you surely view this Difference, and perceive that large Balance, in your Favour, in the Account of Happiness, and yet harbour Discontent, or give Ear to those who would excite it in you.

—Let not then your own Temper and Conduct be longer the only apparent Source of Danger, that threatens, to impair or terminate this superior Good we enjoy as *Britons* from the Nature of our Country and Government; —nor let the late intestine Commotions, of the Land we inhabit, continue an Emblem (as I hope they are not a Prefage) of those which menace the Fabric of our political Constitution; exposed to no less injurious Shocks, from the kindling Effervescence of factious Zeal, and Conflict of opposite Principles of Party, than the Earth under us, from the inflamed Animosity of the discordant Elements it contains. But let regulated Passions, cool Reflection, and deliberate Conduct, banish every Error in Judgment, and Fault in Practice: diffuse a general

neral Unanimity into all our Counfels; create the focial Regard of each Individual to all others; and eftablifh that public Union and Tranquility, which is alone wanting to complete the Sum of our national Happinefs. So may our Science enlarge, our Arts improve, our Commerce be extended, our Riches accumulate, and our Power increafe; till *Britain* as much exceeds her Neighbours, in that acquired Good ſhe will derive from the Virtue and Wiſdom of her People, as in that ſhe owes to her Soil, Situation, and Form of Government.

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a more ingenious, nor a
F I N I S. more riched
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ERRATA.

- PAGE 12. Line 26. inſtead of *Procefs*, read *Progreſs*.
P. 14. l. 5. for *natural Diſpoſitions*, r. *natural Diſpoſition*.
P. 16. l. 16. for *any Ways*, r. *any Way*.
P. 16. l. 31. inſtead of *a Principle*, r. *the Principle*.
P. 22. l. 15. for *this Election*, r. *his Election*.
P. 28. l. 4. for *on the Legiſſature*, r. *of the Legiſſature*.

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